

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

AECE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W  
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P R 251001Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 708

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 9711

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: NBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF NOVEMBER 23

BEGIN SUMMARY. IN NOVEMBER 23 MEETIG, AD HOC GROUP UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) HEARD REPORT OF BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) IN HIS ROLE AS ALLIED SPOKESMAN IN SOUNDINGS WITH EASTERN SPOKESMAN (POLISH REP STRULAK). STRULAK (1) REACTED STRONGLY AGAINST CHANGING PRESENT PACE OF MEETINGS (ISSUE REMAINS OPEN); (2) SUGGESTED INFORMAL BREAK OVER CHRISTMAS TO LAST FROM DECEMBER 14 - JANUARY 15; AND (3) SUGGESTED DATES FOR SUBSEQUENT SPRING RECESS SHOULD ALSO BE PLANNED ON BASIS OF NEED FOR PERSONNEL PLANNING. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) READ REPORT (TEXT SEPTTEL) OF CANADIAN MAIN EXTOFF SHARP/GROMYKO  
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MEETING IN MOSCOW ON NOV. 19 IN WHICH GROMYKO AGREED THAT PROBLEM WAS COMPLICATED AND IT WAS WRONG TO EXPECT TOO MANY RESULTS TOO SOON. AHG AGREED TO CHARGE DRAFTING GROUP WITH PREPARATION OF OUTLINE ON NEXT PLENARY PRESENTATION FOR REVIEW

BY AHG ON MORNING OF NOVEMBER 26. AHG ALSO AGREED TO FOLLOW ADVICE IN UK PAPER ON HANDLING NUCLEAR ASPECTS (VIENNA 9674) TO LIMIT DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT WITH EAST AND TO DRAW ON PORTIONS OF IT FOR STATEMENTS IN PLENARIES. NEXT AHG MEETING SET FOR 1030, NOVEMBER 26 AT US CONFERENCE ROOM. END SUMMARY.

1. ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS. BELGIAN REP REPORTED THAT POLISH REP STRULAK HAD BEEN RELUCTANT TO AGREE TO ALLIES PROPOSAL ON DECREASE OF FREQUENCY OF PLENARIES TO BE HELD FOR REMAINDER OF PERIOD UNTIL CHRISTMAS BREAK. STRULAK INSISTED THAT EASTERN SIDE DID NOT WANT TO GIVE IMPRESSION THAT DISCUSSIONS HAD SLOWED DOWN, AND THAT FROM PUBLIC AND PRESS POINT OF VIEW PRESENT SCHEDULE OF TWO PLENARIES PER WEEK SHOULD BE MAINTAINED. STRULAK SAID THAT A PROPOSAL FOR A ONCE-A-WEEK PLENARY AFTER THE CHRISTMAS BREAK COULD BE CONSIDERED BUT WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY STUDIED FIRST, BELGIAN REP SAID HE TOLD STRULAK THAT WEST WOULD PREFER ONE PLENARY NEXT WEEK ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29. STRULAK RESPONDED THAT USSR WANTED TO SPEAK ON NOVEMBER 27 AND THE ROMANIANS ON NOVEMBER 29. CHAIRMAN COMMENTED THAT DECISION ON WHEN AND HOW OFTEN TO HOLD PLENARIES WAS NOT TO BE LEFT IN HANDS OF OTHER SIDE. FRG REP (BEHRENDT) REPORTED THAT, INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, STRULAK HAD ON PREVIOUS EVENING COMPLAINED TO HIM THAT IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO SCHEDULE TWO PLENARIES A WEEK. NOW THAT THE ALLIED PROPOSAL WAS ON THE TABLE, THE SOVIETS HAD EVIDENTLY OVERRULED STRULAK ON BASIS THAT SOVIETS DO NOT WANT TO ADMIT THAT ANYTHING HAS CHANGED. WHEN BELGIAN REP SUGGESTED AGREEING TO TWO PLENARIES FOR COMING WEEK WITH SOVIETS SPEAKING AT FIRST AND ROMANIANS AT SECOND, US DEP REP SUGGESTED THAT ISSUE WAS WORTH TAKING UP AGAIN WHEN US REPS HAVE SOCIAL CONTACT WITH SOVIET REPS LATER THIS DAY. US WOULD INFORM BELGIAN REP OF RESULTS. BELGIAN REP CITED POTENTIAL PROBLEM OF ROMANIANS INSISTING ON SPEAKING ON NOVEMBER 29, BUT AHG AGREED THAT ROMANIANS SHOULD BE APPROACHED ON SHIFTING THEIR DATE ONLY AFTER HURDLE WAS CLEARED WITH SOVIETS.

2. FOLLOWING MEETING, BELGIAN REP APPROACHED US REP AND  
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URGED THAT PRESENT PATTERN OF PLENARIES BE CONTINUED SO AS NOT TO CREATE DIFFICULTIES WITH BELGIAN AUTHORITIES, BRUSSELS, GIVEN THEIR ATTITUDE ON PLENARIES. US REP POINTED OUT THAT EVEN AT ONE PLENARY A WEEK ALLIES WOULD BE EXCEEDING AGREED MINIMUM OF A PLENARY EACH TWO WEEKS, THAT AD HOC GROUP INCLUDING BELGIAN REP HAD AGREED TO CUT RATE TO FOUR PRIOR TO MID-DECEMBER BREAK, THAT THE FOUR PRESENTATIONS WOULD IN ANY EVENT HAVE TO BE HIGHLY REPETITIVE AND AS MUCH AS AD HOC GROUP COULD READILY SUSTAIN, AND THAT IT PREFERABLE TO HAVE ONE PLENARY WHERE WEST HAD SOMETHING TO SAY IN SUPPORT OF ITS POSITION THAN TO HAVE EXTRA PLENARY WHERE OTHERS WOULD PASSIVELY LISTEN TO EASTERN CRITICISM OF ALLIES PROPOSAL. BELGIAN REP SAID THERE WAS MUCH IN THESE POINTS,

BUT ASKED THAT HIS VIEWS BE FURTHER CONSIDERED.

3. BELGIAN REP FURTHER REPORTED ON EASTERN PROPOSALS ON CHRISTMAS BREAK WHICH FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW WOULD OFFICIALLY START ON DECEMBER 17 AND RUN TO JANUARY 11 WITH A PLENARY TO BE SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY 15. US DEP REP WARNED AGAINST FIXING PLENARY DATE THIS FAR IN ADVANCE, SUGGESTING THAT FROM TACTICAL POINT OF VIEW PLENARY DATE SHOULD BE FIXED FOLLOWING RESUMPTION OF WORK IN JANUARY. US REP ADDED THAT ALLIES MAY NEED SHORT TIME AFTER RETURN TO PREPARE NEXT PRESENTATIONS, PARTICULARLY IF AHG HAS TO AWAIT SOME NAC ACTION; ALLIES THEREFORE SHOULD NOT GET COMMITTED TO FIXED DATE FOR PLENARY BEFORE RETURN IN JANUARY. AHG AGREED TO TAKE LINE WITH EAST THAT CHRISTMAS BREAK WOULD ACTUALLY COVER PERIOD DECEMBER 15 - JANUARY 11, TELLING EAST THROUGH TRULAK THAT ALLIES WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR BUSINESS ON JANUARY 11, AND REFRAINING FROM ANY AGREEMENT ON FIRST PLENARY IN JANUARY.

4. BELGIAN REP WENT ON TO REPORT THAT POLISH REP STRULAK ALSO WANTED TO REACH AN EARLY AGREEMENT ON EASTER RECESS, SINCE MANY EASTERN DELEGATES WERE ON LOAN TO DELEGATIONS FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE NATIONAL MINISTRIES AND EARLY KNOWLEDGE OF THE EXTENT OF STAY OF THESE OFFICIALS WAS IMPORTANT. STRULAK SUGGESTED A BREAK FROM 14 APRIL THROUGH 3RD OF MAY. US REP THOUGHT THAT ALLIED REP SHOULD SIMPLY SAY THAT ALLIES AGREE IN PRINCIPLE THAT A SHORT EASTER BREAK WOULD BE APPROPRIATE BUT WOULD DISCUSS SPECIFIC DATES LATER. US REP SAID ALLIES SHOULD TAKE THIS LINE NOW, SO THAT, IF PARTICIPANTS ARE ENGAGED IN SERIOUS  
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NEGOTIATIONS AT THE TIME, ALLIES WOULD NOT BE COMMITTED IN ADVANCE TO THREE-WEEK BREAK. AHG AGREED THAT

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AECE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

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P R 251001Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 709

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

BELGIAN REP SHOULD CONFIRME HIMSELF TO TELLING POLISH REP THAT  
ALLIES AGREE IN PRINCIPLE TO AN EASTER RECESS.

5. BELGIAN REP THEN ADDRESSED ISSUE OF SEQUENCE IN WHICH SPEAKERS  
WOULD ADDRESS PLENARIES. THE EASTERN SIDE HAD AS YET NOT COME  
TO AN AGREEMENT ON ALLIED PROPOSAL TO USE ENGLSIH ALPHABET IN ORDER  
TO DETERMINE SEQUENCE OF SPEAKERS. THERE WERE SOME MEMBERS OF THE  
WARSAW PACT (PROBABLY ROMANIA) WHO PREFERRED THE SECRETARIAT APPROACH

,  
THAT IS, ORDER OF SPEAKERS WOULD BE DETERMINED ON BASIS OF ORDER OF  
INSCRIPTION. BELGIAN REP INDICATED THAT THIS WOULD COMPLICATE  
MATTERS BECAUSE WESTERN CHAIRMAN NATURALLY HAD EARLIER KNOWLEDGE  
OF WHEN ALLIES WISHED TO SPEAK AND VICE VERSA FOR EAST, BUT THAT HE  
WILL KEEP IN TOUCH WITH POLES TO SEE WHAT THE PROBLEM WAS AND HOW  
IT COULD BEST BE RESOLVED. US DEP REP COMMENTED THAT AT PRESENT  
THIS WAS UNIMPORTANT. AT TIMES IT WOULD BE GOOD TO HAVE LAST WORD  
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IN PLENARIES AND THAT THERE PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE ANY REAL DIALOGUE  
OR REASON TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT ORDER OF SPEAKERS UNTIL NEGOTIATIONS  
WERE FURTHER ALONG.

6. AS THE LAST ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER TO BE BROACHED, BLEGIAN  
DEP REP (WILLOT) MENTIONED THE CONCERN THE EAST HAD WITH KEEPING  
A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF TRANSLATORS AT HAND. AUSTRIANS WILL BE  
CHARGING A MONTHLY COST OF FROM AS 250.000 300.000 FOR FOUR  
TRANSLATORS BUT BELIEVE FOUR MORE ARE NECESSARY IF PRESENT TEMPO  
OF PLENARIES IS TO BE MAINTAINED AND WORKING GROUPS ARE TO BE  
ADDED. US DEP REP POINTED OUT THAT IT MIGHT NOT BE DESIRABLE  
TO MAINTAIN PRESENT FREQUENCY OF PLENARIES AND THAT IF WORKING  
GROUPS WERE TO BE ANYTHING BUT A REPETITION OF PLENARIES, ALLIES  
SHOULD WORK TOWARD USE OF ENGLISH AS WORKING LANGUAGE AND DISPENSE  
WITH INTERPRETERS. BELGIAN DEP REP SAID HE WOULD GET MORE DETAILS  
ON THIS PROBLEM.

7. CHAIRMAN TURNED TO BRIEF MENTION OF US-SOVIET MEETING ON OUTLINE  
PROPOSAL (VIENNA 9655) WHICH HE STATED THAT HE READ WITH GREAT  
INTEREST. HE MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS: (A) SOVIETS APPARENTLY  
SHOW GREAT INTEREST AND INSISTENCE ON KNOWING EXACTLY THE TYPE OF  
LINKAGE FORESEEN BY ALLIES BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND PHASE, AND (B)  
SOVIETS INSIST ON A REDUCTION OF THE GERMAN ARMED FORCES AND

JUSTIFY THIS BY STRESSING THAT SOVIET PUBLIC OPINION WOULD NOT TOLERATE AN AGREEMENT WHICH DID NOT CLEARLY SPELL OUT A BUNDESWEHR REDUCTION. NORWEGIAN REP (VAERNO) SAID THAT HE REGRETTED TO SEE THAT THE US REP IN HIS PREBRIEFING OF THE SOVIETS ON THE OUTLINE PROPOSAL HAD NOT MENTIONED PARA 8 (USNATO 5612) REFERRING TO SPECIAL INTEREST OF FLANK STATES. US REP EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD GIVEN ONLY A SHORT ORAL RESUME OF THE PROPOSAL AND OF THE ALLIED PROPOSAL, ADDRESSING THE GENERAL POINTS OF THE REDUCTION PROPOSAL JUST AS SOVIETS HAD DONE IN THEIR PREBRIEFING. HE WOULD OF COURSE EMPHASIZE THIS POINT IN FUTURE CONTACTS WITH EAST. GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) AND TURKISH REP (TUREL) BOTH SUPPORTED NORWEGIAN IN HIS STATEMENT BUT EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AND APPRECIATION WITH US REP EXPLANATION. UK REP ADDED THAT CONCERN OF FLANK STATES WILL BE COVERED ADEQUATELY IN THE FORTHCOMING STATEMENTS.

8. SOVIET VIEWS ON LINKAGE. CANADIAN REP RAISED QUESTION ON SOVIET ATTITUDE ON LINKAGE OF PHASES (VIENNA 9655, PARA 11) AND ASKED IF DURING THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN US REP AND SOVIET REP ANY  
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IMPRESSION HAD BEEN GAINED AS TO WHETHER SOVIETS MIGHT BE SATISFIED WITH MENTION OF SPECIFIC DATE FOR COMMENCEMENT OF PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH KHESTOV HAD MENTIONED AS A POSSIBILITY. US DEP REP SAID KHESTOV HAD NOT INDICATED FURTHER DETAILS OF PREFERENCE, BUT THIS POINT WAS ONE WHICH DESERVED FURTHER EXPLORATION. KHESTOV'S THIRD ALTERNATIVE HAD BEEN AMBIGUOUSLY PHRASED, BUT WHAT KHESTOV APPARENTLY HAD IN MIND WAS A CONTINUOUS NEGOTIATION FOCUSING FIRST ON US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS AND THEN GOING ON TO DEAL WITH NATIONAL FORCES. THE IMPORTANT POINT WAS THAT KHESTOV HAD SHOWN SUCH A DEGREE OF WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS PHASING ON THE BASIS OF ALLIED CONCEPTS.

9. NEXT TACTICAL STEPS. CHAIRMAN ADDRESSED US DRAFT ON POSSIBLE NEXT ALLIED TACTICAL STEPS (VIENNA 9659) AND ASKED FOR AHG VIEWS ON STRUCTURE OF PAPERS, CONTENT OF STATEMENTS, ASSIGNMENT OF PRESENTATION, AND WHETHER OR NOT FOUR STATEMENTS SHOULD BE PREPARED. CANADIAN REP NOTED THAT TEXT OF THIRD PRESENTATION PROJECTED IN PAPER WOULD DEPEND ON PROGRESS NATO MAKES IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES AND THAT, IN HIS OPINION, CHANCES FOR SUCH AN AGREEMENT BEFORE CHRISTMAS BREAK WERE SLIGHT. HOWEVER, UK REP POINTED OUT THAT THIS TEXT WOULD INCLUDE OTHER TOPICS SUCH AS LINKAGE AND SPECIAL INTERESTS OF FLANKS. FRG REP SUGGESTED THAT SINCE THERE MIGHT BE MORE PLENARIES, THREE STATEMENTS COULD BE MADE OUT OF THE PRESENTLY PROPOSED SECOND AND THIRD STATEMENTS AND THE THEME OF US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS ADDRESSED IN A SEPARATE PAPER. UK REP RECOMMENDED THAT THE STATEMENTS COVERING POINTS ON WHICH AGREEMENT IS STILL REQUIRED FROM BRUSSELS SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE END SUCH AS THOSE ON PARAS 9 AND 10 OF OUTLINE PROPOSAL. CHAIRMAN THEN ASKED WHAT THE FIRST STATEMENT WOULD CONTAIN, AND US REP EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS ENVISAGED AS AN OVERALL STATEMENT WITH ALLUSION TO PROBLEMS INHERENT IN SOVIET PROPOSAL.

10. US REP WENT ON TO SUGGEST THAT THE BEST WAY TO DEAL WITH THE PREPARATION OF THE STATEMENT WOULD BE TO CONVENE A DRAFTING COMMITTEE WHICH WOULD PREPARE AN OUTLINE FOR THE AHG TO CONSIDER ON MONDAY, NOV. 26. HE MADE A STRONG CASE, SUPPORTED BY CHAIRMAN, UK AND BELGAIN REPS FOR COMPLETE SEPARATION OF DRAFTING PRESENTATIONS FROM QUESTION OF WHO SHOULD PRESENT THEM. PRESENTATIONS SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED NATIONAL PRESENTATIONS WITH NATIONAL FLAVOR, BUT PRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF ALL ALLIES, USING DRAFTING GROUP AS AGENCY OF WHOLE GROUP. PRESENTATIONS SHOULD BE BEST POSSIBLE

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AND FORMULATED AND CRITICIZED WITH THIS AIR IN MIND. CHAIRMAN RETURNED TO ISSUE OF STATEMENTS BY SUMMARIZING POINTS WHICH HE BELIEVED ALLIES SHOULD HIT HARD--HE STRESSED THAT OTHER SIDE SHOULD BE MADE TO REALIZE THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT A TWO-PHASE NEGOTIATIO, WHAT EACH PHASE CONCERNS, EMPHASIS ON GROUND FORCES AND A FIRST-PHASE REDUCTION OF US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES. FRG REP INTERPOSED THAT THIS ARGUMENT WAS ONLY GOOD IF A CLEAR LINKAGE BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND PHASE COULD BE ESTABLISHED. US DEP REP COUNTERED THAT COVERAGE OF THIS POINT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY

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USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

AECE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W  
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P R 251001Z NOV 73  
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 710  
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
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USNMR SHAPE  
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FROM US REP MBFR

IN THE FIRST ALLIES STATEMENT, WHICH DID NOT HAVE TO COVER ALL POINTS.

11. CHAIRMAN NETHERLANDS REP AGREED WITH SU PROPOSAL ON PURPOSE OF DRAFTING COMMITTEE AND ADDED THT FIRST STATEMENT SHOULD BE DELIVERED BY A EUROPEAN MEMBER OF ALLIANCE TO DOCUMENT EUROPEAN ENDORSEMENT OF US REP'S PLENARY PRESENTATION. BELGIAN DEP REP COMMENTED THAT, ON PRACTICAL GROUNDS, IT WAS IMPORTANT TO KNOW EARLY DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER IN ORDER TO PERMIT ADEQUATE TIME FOR TRANSLATION. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT SYSTEM PROPOSED BY US DELEGATION FOR THE PREPARATION OF STATEMENTS BEFORE CHRISTMAS BREAK WAS BETTER SINCE, IF OUTLINE WERE TO BE REQUIRED BY DELEGATIONS WHO ARE DESIGNATED TO MAKE THE STATEMENT, ONLY LARGE DELEGATIONS WOULD SPEAK IN PLENARIES. AHG AGREED TO ASSEMBLE  
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DRAFTING GROUP AFTERNOON NOVEMBER 23 TO PREPARE OUTLINE OF NEXT PLENARY STATEMENT; AHG WILL REVIEW ON MORNING OF NOVEMBER 26.

12. UK PAPER ON NUCLEAR ASPECTS. CHAIRMAN INVITED ATTENTION TO UK PAPER ON NUCLEAR ASPECTS (VIENNA 9674) DISTRIBUTED AT AHG MEETING OF NOVEMBER 22. UK REP (ROSE) EXPLAINED THAT PURPOSE OF PAPER WAS TO PRESENT A COMMON ALLIED LINE FOR USE IN BILATERAL CONTACTS AND TO DRAW FROM IF NECESSARY IN PLENARIES. THE NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT IF A PLENARY STATEMENT WERE TO ADDRESS ASPECTS OF THIS PROBLEM, NETHERLANDS HAD SOME CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH IT WILL OFFER WHICH WILL TESTIFY TO COMPLEXITY OF SUBJECT. NETHERLANDS REP THOUGHT THE UK PAPER WAS VERY HELPFUL AND THAT IT SHOULD BE "ADDED TO THE CATECHISM OF OUR THINKING." US DEP REP SAID THAT ALLIES SHOULD STONEWALL ON THIS ISSUE IN ALL BILATERAL CONTACTS AND NOT GIVE THE EASTERN SIDE ANY CAUSE FOR HOPE. HE ADDED THAT THE BEST LINE ALLIES CAN TAKE IS TO DECLINE TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE IF RAISED AND TO AVOID GETTING INTO SUBSTANCE. GROUP AGREED TO USE LINE IN PARA 4 OF PAPER IN ALL BILATERAL CONTACTS AND TO LEAVE ANY DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUBJECT MATTER TO CONTROLLED ENVIRONMENT OF PLENARIES.

13. PRESS MATTERS. CHAIRMAN ASKED IF A PRESS BACKGROUNDER WAS REQUIRED BEFORE THE NATO MEETINGS IN DECEMBER, NOTING THAT THERE APPEARED TO BE MANY QUESTIONS REGARDING PROPOSALS. US REP SAID HE THOUGHT A PRESS BACKGROUNDER UNDESIRABLE UNLESS ONE WAS HELD JUST BEFORE THE BREAK WITH SUBSTANCE BEING LIMITED TO THE PROGRESS OF THE TALKS RATHER THAN FILLING IN SPECIFICALLY ON DETAILS OF ALLIED PROPOSAL.

14. CHAIRMAN ANNOUNCED NEXT MEETING OF AHG AT 1030 ON NOVEMBER 26. HUMES

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 12 MAY 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AGREEMENT DRAFT, ARMED FORCES, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, COMMITTEE MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 NOV 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** mcintyresh  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** ADS  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
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**Line Count:** 377  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ACTION ACDA  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 7  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** mcintyresh  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 16 JUL 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <16-Jul-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <27-Aug-2001 by mcintyresh>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF NOVEMBER 23  
**TAGS:** PARM, NATO  
**To:** STATE  
SECDEF INFO NATO  
BONN  
LONDON  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR  
**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005